



WHEN your Grace engaged in the politics of E——, the Sheriff of the county said, with some wit and more truth, "That you had clapped a blister to your back."

The best way to judge of the prudence of your persevering in that measure, is to look back upon the past measures of your life, and who the person is that has led you into most of them.

You began your outset in the world with what some called a *mutiny of the Scots Peers* against the Minister; and what others called a *generous assertion of the independence* of your own order; it matters not which. Your zeal continued for a few months; you made up the matter in private with the Minister; you shuffled in public with your brethren. Their looks, even their silence at the meeting, were the most bitter reproaches you could receive. You said, That the list proposed was the *very one* which you yourself would have chosen; a strange compliment to those noble friends who had embarked in the same bottom with you, who trusted you would sink or swim with them; and yet whose characters you shrank in their own hearing, surrendered without thanks, in compliment to the characters of others! From that moment, one who lived a mile of your house marked you for his own, as a man who was not to be trusted, who could be the best of his kind at one time, and the worst of his kind at another.

Your next movement was to put yourself at the head of a Bank, that, by lending other peoples money to those who would vote for you at elections in Banks, Burghs, and Counties, you might get the command of all the elections of Scotland into your hands. What was the consequence? You designed to make others pay for your politics; but, while you had your designs, other people had theirs, and they made you *pay the piper* in the end. When your bubble broke, you hung on for hours in the back parlour of the Bank of England, to try if they would lend money to support the falling credit of your Bank; and you hung on for days and weeks at the levees of Ministers to procure an act of Parliament to prevent the creditors of your Bank from falling upon the private estates of the partners. By *involving your country in your own calamities*, you procured that act; but had it not been for the generosity of an English Parliament, the D. of M.'s daughter might,

her husband's imprudence, have wanted a bed to lie on in Scotland.

The same infatuation is plunging you a second time into the same distress. You have got the command of one Bank: You and your friend the L. A. are stirring heaven and earth to get the command of another. Should that happen, you and he would ruin the paper credit of your country. Men would fly from the Banks as they would from fire. They would judge of the future by the past. They would ask, Can men who had not sense to conduct the affairs of one Bank, be able to conduct those of two? They would consider, that, while the Banks are in your and his hands, the interest of the Proprietors and of the Directors must be diametrically opposite; for that it is the interest of the Proprietors to give cash accompts only to those who can repay them; but that it would be your interest to give them to all who would vote for you at Bank, Burgh, and County elections;—no matter whether they could pay their Bank accout or not. Besides, you have Bankers joined with you in this strange scheme of monopolizing the money of your country; and monied men will see, that your Grace will come in the end to feel, to your cost, that these Bankers have an interest to support their own credit at the expence of the Bank which they direct. Moreover, the business of the Ayr Bank is not yet wound up—God knows when it will. In the mean time, it would be cruel to leave old friends in distress; and it will be shrewdly suspected, that the partners of that Bank are to be relieved at the expence of the L. A. others. But if men of credit withdraw from your Bank, none but desperadoes will remain for your partners, and these will soon shew you the way again to the back parlour of the Bank of England, and the anti-chambers of the Ministers. When D.'s go out of their way to turn Bankers, they deserve very well the fate which I point out. A Banking D. is an honour reserved for Scotland alone; no other country in Europe enjoys it.

The same person who is bringing you upon the brink of a precipice in this banking-business, had very near pushed you over it three years ago. He boasted in public, that you was to split the superiorities of your estate to support his interest in the county; the inevitable consequence of which must have been, that any heir of your entail could have run off with your estate. Your Grace would then have had some excuse for living in a tavern in Edinburgh,

burgh, instead of your own palace, for you would have had no other house in Scotland to live in. You are unhappy in your Law Director. At one time, at a public meeting, in presence of hundreds, he betrays so grossly his ignorance in his own profession, as not to know of an act of Parliament which precluded you from making your attack upon the independence of one of the Banks, at the time that you had brought those hundred friends together to make it. At another time, he, to serve himself, gets you to run the risk of forfeiting your estate to Lord D—l—r—ne.

You say, that you think it one of the duties of life, to assist the independence of the mechanics of E———. Why then did you give up the independence of your own order, which has been in chains ever since the Union? Why do you not assert the independence of the County, the representation of which is become almost hereditary in one family? Why do you form plans to destroy the independence of the Banks of your country? When you pretend love of independence in one instance, and neglect it in all others, do you believe that men are to be imposed upon by such miserable disguises? Even the tailor and blacksmith who were walking arm-and-arm with your Grace, the other day, at the cross, and the forty-two Delegates who, the evening before, were spewing upon you at Fortune's, and you upon them, laugh at you in their sleeve, while they are pocketing your money, and swallowing your liquor.

But, when you are so uncommonly fond of the poor citizens of E——— now, why were you so unkind to them two years ago? You and the two others of your triumvirate, the L. P. and the L. A. contrived a plan to lay a tax upon every citizen of E———, to make a bridge, for yourselves to ride into town, in your coaches, over the heads of all these good people who were to pay for your convenience. I have often thought of putting into two different scales, the intended tax upon the citizens in the one, and the convenience to arise to your Grace from it on the other, with a view to know how you estimate your pleasures in competition with their sufferings. Your Grace's part of the accompt would probably stand thus :

1mo, To the D: of B. going twice to church in E———, a little time before the Michaelmas elections, to please the good people there.

2do,

2do, To the D. of B. going seven times a-week to E——, to get drunk with the Delegates of the Trades, during the whole of the two months immediately preceding the Michaelmas election.

3tio, To the D. of B. returning often at midnight to E——, having been sent for exprefs, from his own palace, by the forty-two Delegates, to tell his Grace something which had been forgot at the last meeting which he had the honour of being at with them; the number of these returns unknown.

Deduce two Sundays from the above two months, because comprehended under article second of the accompt.

Deduce also, many days when his Grace did not return to his own palace, nor, consequently, had occasion to make use of the bridge, having been necessarily detained at E——, by the sickness of the former day's debauch; the number of these intervals unknown.

Now, stating the accompt as above, with the above deductions from it, I think it will come out, that, if his Grace was to go in his coach along the bridge, which he projected, instead of the present causeway which he had condemned, he must have saved at least 200 tolls in the year, to make up for which, he, with his two friends, were to have taxed above 50,000 persons, that is to say, to save each jolt to himself, he was to have taxed 250 of his most dear friends, the citizens of E——, for all the days of their lives.

In the same way I have sometimes been tempted to put into one scale the regard of the L. A. for the interest of the poor inhabitants of E——, and in the other scale his disregard for their interest. His Lordship, last spring, planned, drew, and underhand promoted, to the very utmost of his little power's credit, the *Corn Bill*. The purpose of that bill was to make grain extravagantly dear, and to press down the inhabitants of towns to the very earth, in order to raise the rents of the lairds to the skies. Maitland, in his history of Edinburgh, computes, that there are 70,000 persons in Edinburgh, Leith, and West Kirk parishes; it is also computed, that, of mankind, every 20th person is obliged to work with his hands, and to earn his bread with the sweat of his brow; so that his Lordship's Corn Bill must have been a severe scourge upon 66,500 of the poor people in Edinburgh and its suburbs. Thus stands the accompt as to his contempt of their interest. Now, let

us see the account as to his love, kindness, and reverence for their interest. *1mo*, He is to make himself Member of Parliament for the honour of the City. *2do*, He is to make six Deacons of the Trades independent of the Council of the Merchants, for the honour of these deacons; and, *3tio*, He has given P—— S—— fifty promises, of which he is unable to keep any, and never thought of keeping one, though he could.

His Lordship's conduct, with regard to this Corn Bill, might well raise a few serious reflections in your Grace, and in the inhabitants of Edinburgh. Though the bill is notoriously known to be his own, he made use of another man's name, as he has twenty times done of your Grace's, and of many other as great men, and got it fathered upon Sir A—m F———n; and poor Sir A—m was burnt in effigy at Glasgow and Dundee, as the grinder of the faces of the poor, while L. A. was huzza'd at E——— as the protector of the liberties of the poor inhabitants. He tells the lairds, his constituents in M— L———, that he is their best friend; because, by the Corn Bill, he is to fill their pockets with money, at the expence of the town of E———: and he tells the town of E———, that he is its best friend, because he is to raise six deacons above the heads of their fellows. The inhabitants of Glasgow, who seldom mistake their interest, subscribed 1200 l. in half an hour, to oppose his Lordship; but the poor wretches of E——— roared, and got drunk about the independence of six deacons, and never once thought of the pinched bellies which his Lordship was providing for themselves, their wives, widows, children, and servants. This matter too, shews the perfect inconsistency of the *Town* and *County* being in the same hands: For, if the Member of Parliament regards the interest of his constituents in the county, he must vote for the Corn Bill; and, if he regards the prayers of his friends in the town, he must vote against it. To do your Grace justice, your name has not as yet been tacked to this Corn Bill, as it has been, without much ceremony, to every project of the L. A. when it was his interest to make use of it; and, *for once*, he has kept you behind the curtain, as well as himself: but the day will come, when you will be forced to the disagreeable alternative of voting either against your interest, as a landed man, or against your interest with your friends of E———, in your capacity of an election-jobber. These are difficulties, from which one would think, that a man of your

rank, fortune, character, and period of life, might wish to avoid; for the moment you vote in Parliament for that bill, the curses of your dear friends in E—— will attend you; and your delegates and deacons will make that vote, and those curses, an excuse for flying to the standard of the first man who is weak enough to squander his time, his money, and his constitution, among them.

Your Grace's love of independence is indeed boundless. You was the patron of a bill to Parliament to incapacitate people in Scotland to split their superiorities at elections, by which you was to reduce your own family, and the nobility of Scotland, and all the men of property in it, to a total state of insignificance, in order to secure the possession of W— and M— L— for ever to the families of H——n and A——n. The friendship of Castor and Pollux is nothing to this. These friends slept day about, but your Grace's slumber is eternal; and you permit L. A. to be continually awake.

Your Grace's friends talk of your dignity and love of independence. Did the D. of B. remember his own dignity, when he created one miserable vote upon one miserable superiority in E— L—, to mark to all that he was the fag-end of the L. P.'s politics? Was it his love of independence, or was it his dignity, which made him set his hand to a treaty, that disposed of that unfortunate county for no more than three sessions of a Parliament? Your Grace had a relation, now no more, who meddled in the politics of this country, indeed, but not like you. He had the address and the influence to bring commonly sixteen Peers, and near thirty Commoners, into Parliament; but you are vain to make the 150th part of a county, and for only part of a Parliament too. He made the greatest men of his country, in some degree, his tools; but you are the mere tool of a very little man in it. By these two false steps in that county, you provoked the independent gentlemen in it; and, what is far more dangerous for you, you betrayed to them the secret, that you are easily led, but incapable to lead. Can inconsistencies be reconciled? You pretend to assert independence in the City; but you do all that you can to destroy independence in the three Counties that surround it.

Contrary to the honour and openness of your natural disposition, you have been betrayed by those who lead you, into making your hours of pleasure and jovialty, hours of design. You lately drew the ingenuous and unsuspecting youth, the D. of

H. into your drinking parties, under the pretence of indulging youthful frolic; but, with all the arts of an aged politician in your head. The hardened and desperate P———t S———t, at one of these public meetings, several times took his Grace aside to whisper at a window, who little knew that all this was intended only to give the appearance of importance to the whisperer. You endeavoured to draw from the Noble Youth, when heated with wine, a declaration in favour of your politics in this town, which, had he given, he must have repented, in his sober hours, as long as he lived. Did not your Grace feel the indignity of making the first man of your country second to any one, and much more of making him the tool of you, who are only the tool of another? When Regent M———n lived at D———h, his palace was called *The Lions Den*: Take care, that in your day, it is not called *The Foxes*; but, take still greater care, that it be not called *The Jackall's Den*; for the Jackall is a creature that provides only for another, and not for himself. One would wish to know, what all this bustle is for, in your Grace? You have no son, brother, or cousin, and only two flatterers to serve; But, the P———t's brother is to have the town, and the P———t's son is to have the county; and no doubt, when your Grace's son comes up, he is to have the choice of the two, from a family, who have been always remarkable for serving others, and never themselves: Yet, Sir A———r G———r's fate, might make your Grace look forward, and look backward a little. Your relation, whom I mentioned before, had always a Campbell in his sleeve. I never heard of your having, either a Scott, or a Campbell, in yours. When you are continually pestering Ministers for favours, which they continually refuse, it is never for men of your own family, or of the counties where your own natural political interest lies, but for people who are aliens to your blood; who have no merit with you, but that of making you drunk; and who have no scruple at making you little, to make themselves great; and some of whom will leave you in the lurch, as they have done every one, that ever trusted himself to them: Yet, still it seems strange, that your Grace never gives a gentleman of the name of Scott the honour of a rebuff from a Minister, because recommended by you.

The conduct of your politics, however, in E———, with your

your new friends, shews, that your old and natural family ones suffer little by your neglecting them.

P——st S——t, under the auspices of your Grace and L. A. struck out a new stroke of politics, which was to turn out Sir L. D. not by his enemies, but by his own friends, and all this without his knowing that he had lost the town, or that they were going to take it from him. In prosecution of which scheme, S——t the relation of Sir L. D. was to declare to all men, that he was Sir L.'s fastest friend, and yet to get all men to vote against his interest.

Such a plan of politics never entered into the head of an Irishman. It is impossible to say whether the treachery or the poverty of the thought was the greatest; accordingly, it only deceived for a month or two, and could only provoke those who had been deceived by it. Again, you and your party spread it through Edinburgh, that Sir L. D. had taken part against the Trades in their favourite project about the leets. His son has, in print, denied the fact: And well he may; for both father and son are the people's friends; they are not the contrivers of taxes to oppress poor tradesmen, widows, and orphans. A third artifice of your politics is much beneath you, I mean the continual flag hung out, that you and the L. A. can serve people, although it is well known to both of you, that your interest joined cannot make a tide-waiter. You soar too high; you spread too wide; you give the alarm both to great men here, and to great men above. Would the King's servants be justifiable in giving power to one, who, because led by an imprudent and violent person, is a friend that never can be trusted, and yet might prove a dangerous enemy, if exalted?

These things are bad enough, but far worse follows. Your friends of the incorporations, in the unwary moment of their worthier brethren of these incorporations, have obtained a resolution, that the expence of supporting the political job about the leets shall be defrayed out of the funds of the poor. That your Grace should countenance such a resolution, or ever know of it till too late, is impossible: But, how are you to be pitied, to be associated with men in the Town, whom you call your friends, who could be guilty of such a sacrilegious defrauding of the poor! How much more are you to be pitied, to be associated with a man in the county, who either knew, or ought to have known of such a resolution, and yet did not inform you of it, that you might have prevented

prevented it! Half the money that you have spent uselessly in taverns, on the politics of E———, would have saved you this eternal disgrace to your politics of that place. Do your friends believe that you have no honour, no conscience, no tender-heartedness for the poor, when, under your auspices, they resolve to support their private political purposes *out of public charities*? The action is without a parallel from the Land's-end to the extremity of Caithness: For, though this age do boggle too little in politics, yet there are few men, even burgh-politicians, who do not fear their God, and pity the poor. The world trusts and believes, that your Grace does both. Your political friends alone act as if they believed that you do neither, and that you care not how much the world think so too.

Your Grace will give me leave to conclude, with drawing your attention to the usage you are meeting from men with whom you are ruining your health, risking your fortune, and losing your character, and all these without any object in which you have an interest. At last Michaelmas election, P——st S———t printed a vindication of himself, in which your Grace's name is made use of, in the following passage: "I here solemnly declare and aver, that, until the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of August last, when I had occasion to meet with L. A. at his desire, and the L——d R———r, (then here), relative to some ground lying between Sir L.'s house and the Register Office, I never had any conversation or correspondence, directly or indirectly, either with the noble D. or Right Hon. Lawyer, that did at all regard the political interests of the Town of Edinburgh. But, upon that occasion, after speaking upon the business of our meeting, some mention having been made of the division in the Town Council, the L. A. asked, If it was possible what was reported, that Sir L. D. was so ill advised, as to interfere in the dispute? I told him, I was afraid it was so: Then, my Lord, says he, I hope he shall take a part against you; if he does, and I were D. of B. I know what I would do; adding, he was sorry the D. was from home, but hoped he would soon return. I declined entering into that matter, and expressed hopes, that there might be no occasion for his Grace's interfering. Afterwards, when it was publicly known in the town, that Sir L. D. had entirely thrown us off, and was using his whole influence to disunite our friends, I received a letter from the D. of B. which, from

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“ the known candour and openness of that young Nobleman’s
 “ disposition, I am persuaded he will readily forgive my publish-
 “ ing, as, in my situation, I think there is a necessity of throw-
 “ ing aside all reserve, and laying my conduct entirely open;
 “ and indeed this necessity alone could have drawn from me the
 “ publication of a letter, in which are some compliments to my-
 “ self I have very little merited.”

D——— H——, 31st August, 1776.

MY LORD,

The A——— mentioned to me your plan of a new room for the High-school of E——— and his wishes that I would subscribe to it, and give it any other aid in my power.

I shall do whatever is agreeable to you in that respect. I own I should have wished to have seen your L———p upon that and some other subjects; but I take it for granted the present political bustle you are engaged with will prevent me from having that pleasure.

I have never taken any concern in the politics of E———, although, I believe, I have been suspected of it; and I fairly confess, it is with some concern I learn, that measures are taking to lessen your weight and influence in the administration of the affairs of the town. The honourable and liberal sentiments upon which your L———p has ever shewn an inclination to conduct them, makes me wish that the administration should continue in your L———p, and in the hands of others acting upon your principles.

From a person having so little to say as I have in the town of E———, you will probably think an offer of assistance a very unmeaning mark of my respect, and approbation of your L———p’s conduct; but if you can point out to me any way in which I can be serviceable to you in your present contest, I shall be extremely happy to do it; for I can assure you, I consider the general interest of this country, connected with the peace, honour, and prosperity of its m———s.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

B———.

This story, and this letter, were published in this manner, either with your consent, or without it. If with your consent, how miserably

miserably must you be the dupe and engine of those who expose your private correspondence to redeem their own character ! If it was against your consent, how must they despise your understanding and your displeasure ! Did any one ever see a private letter of A——d D——e of A——e exposed to public view, in the forty years that he conducted the politics of this country ? That great man would have made such a little gentleman as Mr S——t tremble, every joint of him, if he had presumed to treat his name, and expose his letters, as that man has done your Grace's. But there was this difference between his Grace and you : He made other people do his jobs, but other people make you do theirs : He held L——d M——n always between him and danger ; but L. A. claps you into the breach, to save himself from the shot : In his Grace's day, others got the disgrace, and he all the credit ; but in your day, others get all the profit, and you all the disgrace.

When the passage above inserted was printed, there was not a man of a right turn of mind in Scotland, who did not feel for the young D. of B. (beloved as he is with all his errors) what he did not seem to have felt for himself. P——t S——t's story amounts to this, that L. A. was so imprudent, on the 24th of August, as to make strangers understand, that he could lead the D. of B. who was then from home, by the nose, as he pleased : That accordingly, his Grace, as soon as he returned home, which was that day se'ennight, did, unapplied to, unsolicited, and even uninvited, plunge himself, head and ears, into the politics of E——— ; not by message, not by personal conversation, which might have left him at liberty to retreat, if he afterwards thought proper, but by a letter which left him at the mercy of the man who received it ; and that he concluded all, by submitting to what no gentleman will bear, that of having his correspondence exposed by a shop-keeper.

Notwithstanding all these things, you may still recover the game that, of all others, is of the most consequence to your Grace's character and ease. Men will pardon, in one of your age, faults which arose from the craft of others, and from the generous confidence of youth, which suspected no craft, because you was a stranger to it yourself. Take the lead once more in the cause of your own order, and you will regain its esteem : Cease to be a Banker, and no creditor will attack your rents : Split not
your

your superiorities, and no heir will attach your estate: Avoid the haunts of the Delegates, and you will preserve your money and your constitution: Let L. A. plead your causes, nor direct your actions: Make the L. P. drunk, but get not drunk with him: Be the generous, hospitable, good-tempered man that nature made you: Scorn the little politics of elections, falsely called *ambition*: Take the great line of politics, in parliament,—that becomes you,—to stem the usurpations, whether of the crown, or of the mob: Neither oppose, nor crouch to Ministers, because Ministers, and they will come faster to you than if you had all the Deacons of Scotland at your heels: Do these things, and you will find that the person who gives you these advices is

ONE OF YOUR BEST FRIENDS,

4 JU 62



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